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East Timor:
"We will win the battle..."

On 26 December 1992 in "Diario de Noticias" (Lisbon, Portugal) Jose Ramos Horta, special representative of the Maubere Resistance National Council (CNRM), observed: "Both internally and on the international scene, the forthcoming months will be difficult and decisive for East Timor."

"The situation in Indonesia 'is at boiling point', according to the majority of observers. President Suharto seems to favour a policy enabling more 'flexibility' opposed by the hawks, Benny Murdani and Try Sutrisno. The game of political chess has begun."

Meanwhile, "The resistance in East Timor continues. There were no 'surrenders'. Dozens of clandestine militants were arrested. The 'network' has been reduced. But with the speed and determination of those used to 18 years of war, it is being reorganised. And the resistance continues under the guidance of the Maubere Resistance National Council (CNRM), now headed by Mau Huno, fellow soldier and close friend of Xanana".

The atmopshere inside East Timor, however, is unbelievably tight. In a January 8 memo on latest developments, TAPOL reports on information conveyed by phone by an East Timorese contact in Indonesia on 7 January 1993:

"The level of fear, uncertainty and anxiety among the East Timorese is now at a very high pitch. The objective of the forces of occupation is to create a '50:50 Society'. This means that 50 per cent of the population are nationalists (ie. anti-integration) while the other 50 per cent must consist of people pledged to spy on the others. The sweeping efforts to force people to take oaths of allegiance, often now according to traditional ritual, meaning that non-compliance will be fatal, is intending to have a very large number of people under threat of death to spy on their compatriots. People who are forced to take oaths of allegiance are then released and subjected to close supervision to serve the purposes of the intelligence.

Another move to destabilise society is to persuade formal and informal leaders to destroy the close ties between the people and the Catholic Church. People are being urged to turn against the Church.

Since 18 December 1992, hundreds of East Timorese in Baucau have been forced to go into the bush to hunt down guerrillas. This operation is still under way. There is no news of any guerrillas having been 'delivered' to the army.

The armed resistance wishes it to be known that, since the arrest of Xanana Gusmao on 20 November 1992, they have been intensifying their level of military activity against the Indonesian army. ... Inevitably, say the guerrillas, *- continued on page 2*

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Trying to crush the Timorese resistance

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an intensification of armed contact has repercussions on the local population, as the army takes reprisals against them. The guerrilla movement is keen to show that the arrest of Xanana has not led to decline in their activity. On the contrary, their intentions is to increase the pressure on the army.

Many top-level East Timorese officials are regarded by the army as having been involved in looking after and supporting Xanana Gusmao during the period he was in hiding (in terms of helping him directly with hideouts, supplying his needs, etc). They include six district chiefs (bupati), several heads of bureaus and some businessmen.

From other very reliable, protected sources:

1. Some of the people who were arrested immediately before and after the arrest of the resistance leader, Xanana Gusmao, are being held in secret cells at Colmera prison and at Komarka prison in Balide, Dili. Henrique Belmiro Guterres is in the worst state of all; all his nails were pulled out, his ears were slashed and he has a broken arm. The families of those arrested have not been told by the International Red Cross of their whereabouts, which is what normally happens.

2. In late November, an East Timorese member of the Armed Forces, Lieut. Constancio Guterres was arrested on suspicion of being involved with a clandestine organisation. Other armed forces members have also reportedly been arrested as well. East Timorese troops are no longer being issued with firearms

3. Several East Timorese businessmen have gone into hiding as they are suspected of having supplied Xanana Gusmao with his needs in his hideout.

4. At the beginning of December, Governor Abilio Soares and military commander, Brig.Gen. Theo Syafei instructed all their subordinates in the civil and military services to round up all civil and military personnel who are suspected of being 'two-faced' for immediate interrogation; where proven guilty, they must be placed under arrest. Many of these people are anti-integration UDT sympathisers. ***(Those known to have been arrested recently include members of the armed forces, the head of the Agriculture Office, 3 businessmen, a hospital administrator, a village head, 6 civil servants, and 2 nurses. Some 650 arrests have been reported, with 60 already confirmed. Clearly, the urban-based underground movement goes well beyond students and youth.)***

5. Some members of underground organisations who 'surrendered' in Baucau and who were then ordered to go into the bush to hunt down guerrillas have since been killed by Indonesian soldiers because they failed to capture anyone. ... they would stay alive if they captured rebels or be killed if they captured no-one.

6. Operations by the military have reached a new peak of ferocity, forcing people to take oaths, all of which is carefully recorded. The forces of occupation are using Timorese traditions to enforce total obedience to their power. Making a pledge with blood is a traditional practice among some East Timorese tribes for strictly tribal purposes. Now that East Timor is so isolated from outside observation, the population in many parts of the country are being forced to bend to the will of their Indonesian persecutors in all kinds of obscene circumstances.

It is impossible to know the circumstances that compelled the 294 participants of the Ainaro clandestine who till now have supported the GPK-Fretilin to take part in an event which goes against everything these people have believed and striven for during the past seventeen years. They took a traditional oath of loyalty to the Indonesian Republic in a ceremony which took place in the Ainaro football stadium in the presence of a thousand people. This form of ceremony is regarded as sacred. If violated, the consequences for the oath takers will be fatal, for themselves as well as for their descendants. [It is of course within the power of the army to make sure that disobedience is indeed fatal for everyone concerned.)

7.Youths, especially young girls, are being compelled to attend dance parties held by soldiers all over the country. No-one dares to refuse or to protest as everyone is very afraid.

8. Things are far worse now than they were in 1975. We fervently hope that you will disseminate this information without mentioning the source. The situation in East Timor is dire; we sorely need intervention from the UN. (gn:tapol reg.easttimor, Jan 5, 6 & 8, 1993)

In a 21 December analysis, Liem Soei Liong and Carmel Budiardjo of TAPOL report that military operations are "strangulating East Timor".

"The capture of Xanana Gusmao was one of the major aims of the present Indonesian military operation in East Timor. But Operasi Tuntas (Operation Thoroughgoing or Complete) has not yet reached its climax. With unprecedented ferocity Timorese guerillas are being hunted down in the mountains and hundreds, possibly thousands, of arrests have taken place in the cities.

As a military operation, Operasi Tuntas consists of new elements and has a new thrust. The main difference is that it reinstates the security approach as the army's strategy while the key thrust is to crush the clandestine movement.

"Two-faced" Timorese

The clandestine movement has usually been taken as meaning the young activists who created a variety of organisations like Renetil, Fitun, and Ojetil. These organisations were primarily responsible for the anti-Indonesia actions in Dili and Baucau. The Santa Cruz procession of 12 November 1991 was largely organised by the youth. But Operasi Tuntas has gone further than just hunting down and arresting the youth. - *continued on p. 4*

"... possibly the most difficut period of all for Timorese"

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Several months ago, Brig.General Theo Syafei and Governor Abilio Osorio Soares issued a warning to the so-called two-faced Timorese. They were referring to people who work within the Indonesian system while at the same time being involved in clandestine work for independence. Syafei and Soares are both well aware of the realities in East Timor and know that these 'two-faced' people are the bottom line. It is not enough to wipe out the armed resistance and destroy the clandestine youth organisations; any operation to break the back of the resistance must also mean 'cleansing' the entire Indonesian administrative system in East Timor. Some of the defendants in the trials held in Dili earlier this year were civil servants. The latest waves of arrests show that one major aim of Operasi Tuntas is to break up the clandestine network within the Indonesian administration. Most of the detainees named in recent Amnesty International urgent actions are civil servants.

Indonesian press reports during the past month reveal the extent and range of this clandestine network. Xanana's visits from the mountains to Dili were partly organised by Timorese working in the provincial administration, including a village head. Xanana's arrest took place in the house of police first corporal Agusto Pereira, another 'loyal' Timorese. It is clear that Xanana's arrest was not the result of betrayal but resulted from a major search by the army during November. They ultimately discovered Xanana's whereabouts after inflicting the most horrific forms of torture on detainees who they thought might be able to inform on Xanana. It is understood that Henrique Gutteres, who was captured a few days before Xanana was found, finally broke down and revealed his whereabouts after all his finger-nails and toe-nails had been pulled out and both his ears had been slashed.

The security approach

Since January this year when Brig. General Theo Syafei was appointed military commander, much has changed in East Timor. His predecessor Brig. General Warouw favoured the prosperity approach, a strategy of using persuasion to convince the Timorese to accept integration. The security approach used by Operasi Tuntas regards every Timorese as suspect. The prosperity approach has been shelved.

It is not possible to estimate the number of people arrested since Xanana was captured. The level of brutality has also far exceeded anything experienced by the Timorese for many years. ... Considering what Timorese have lived through for the past seventeen years, (the reports) suggest a level of brutality quite beyond human endurance.

Central to the strategy currently being employed is an attempt to thoroughly demoralise the people of East Timor, so as to destroy their will to oppose integration. A key element in the campaign is the staging of 'loyalty ceremonies'. In stage-managed ceremonies attended by the press and TV, young and old are forced to declare their loyalty to the Indonesian Republic.

Throughout the current operations, 'surrender' is the key word. By giving the impression that hundreds, even thousands, of 'rebels' have 'surrendered', the army hopes to present the international community with a fait accompli, making further diplomatic effort irrelevant. Once an entire nation has 'surrendered', what more is there to talk about?

This is why Indonesia was so inflexible at the UN-sponsored round of talks (in April) should give the army the time it needs to end, once and for all, any remnants of East Timorese resistance.

The dissolution of KOLAKOPS

Kolakops is the special military structure for East Timor. Earlier this year Brig.General Syafei announced that Kolakops would be dissolved in September, then he postponed it till the end of the year. Now it has again been put back, this time to March 1993. The huge operations now under way suggest that the army hopes to be able to disband Kolakops before the appointment of Suharto for a sixth term as president. The date fixed for the next talks between Indonesia and Portugal also fits in with this timetable. Whether Syafei will be able to achieve this is another matter; even Indonesian press reports suggest that East Timorese resistance is still widespread. To achieve their aim, the Indonesian military would need to wipe out practically the entire population. The arrest of Xanana Gusmao and the way in which he has been manipulated by his captors is a heavy blow for the Timorese but there is nowhere any sign of the collapse of the resistance.

In the past 17 years the Timorese have experienced many different phases of Indonesian rule. Every time they have developed new ways to overcome their oppressors with new forms of resistance. The present wave of terror under Operasi Tuntas is possibly the most difficult period of all for the Timorese, but their will to overcome and their will to resist is sure to prevail."

Reflecting on the position of Xanana, Jose Ramos Horta also noted: "This is the first Christmas which Xanana Gusmao spends in captivity, somewhere in an Indonesian prison. His last 16 Christmases were spent with his guerrillas, among the giant 'gondoeiros' and the soaring palm trees, drinking 'tuaka' or some 'tua-sabu', eating grilled deer meat under East Timorese skies by the light of the stars and moon. This Christmas, however, he is in captivity.

" 'The territory was becoming progressively smaller for him', said Bishop Ximenes Belo. Perhaps these words from the head of the Timorese Church best explain Xanana's capture. What had been feared for years finally happened. ... The first images of Xanana and his statements shocked everyone. There was a violent emotional impact. ... But his captors will not have enjoyed his audacious denial to journalist Joao Gabriel of practically everything which had been dragged out of him by force two weeks previously ..."

Horta is referring to a careful reading and understanding of what happened in the interview which Xanana had with the Portuguese journalist Joao Gabriel two weeks after the first video showed him accepting integration with Indonesia. At the end of the interview, interviewer and interviewee were standing together, with censors and military a meter or so away. Xanana gripped the reporter's hand and held it firmly in his own for 30, 40 seconds. "I was answering your questionnaire at the time of my arrest", he said. Xanana's two last sentences of the interview "disagree entirely with the version that he is repentant, placing him in the position he has been in for the past 17 years, fighting for Timor's independence. ". As the most explicit example of this Gabriel indicates Xanana's reply to a question about his acceptance of East Timor's integration in Indonesia. "I am replying in a way in which, if I were free, I would not", said the leader. But this part was neither heard nor seen in Portugal because the

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Test moratorium

French President Mitterand has said that France will refrain from testing nuclear weapons as long as the USA and Russia do likewise.

Last April, the French government announced it would suspend nuclear testing in the South Pacific at least until the end of 1992. At that time, Russia had already announced a testing moratorium and the USA soon followed suit. Calls by Russia and the USA for a moratorium on nuclear tests until July 1993 prompted France to reconsider its stance.

Mitterand noted with pleasure that both Russia and the USA had decided on a breathing space before deciding what to do next about testing. He said France would be obliged to maintain adequate security if the other countries resumed testing, but he hoped this would not happen. However, France's centre-right opposition, favoured to win the general election in March, has criticised the nuclear test freeze.

(Info: Pacnews 14.1.93 & 31.12.92)

East Timor - *continued from page 4*

Indonesian censors deleted 8 minutes of the nearly 20-minute interview (gn:cdpm reg.easttimor Dec 14, 1992).

It is feared that Xanana is now undergoing a new round of physical and psychological torture on account of his temerity.

Assessing the current diplomatic prospects, Horta concludes, "After arriving in Sydney from New York on 21 December, I immediately went on to Melbourne, where I spoke on the last day of a conference on Indonesia. The most respected specialists on Indonesia, from all over the world, were present. Also attending was all the Indonesian democratic elite, with whom I had long talks - and their sympathy for the Timorese cause was clearly evident.

I (also) believe I noted a political willingness to carry out a more aggressive and firm strategy at my meeting with (Portuguese) Minister Durao Barroso and Ambassador Pedro Catarino in New York. This is the position I advocate... Portugal should not hesitate. Reason and morals are on her side."

The situation in East Timor has in fact once again drawn a response from the European Parliament in a resolution which calls for the immediate and unconditional release of all Timorese political prisoners. Parliament wants immediate access for representatives of the UN Committee on Human Rights and Amnesty International to East Timor and to Indonesian prisons. The resolution warns Indonesia of the consequences that repeated violations of human rights and international law may have for relations with the EC. (European Parliament session news press release document, 17 December 1992)

"The international scenario is favourable to us", Horta concludes. "Firmer and more imaginative action in the US, EC and Third World could tip the diplomatic balance in our favour in the coming months, and influence the very political evolution in Indonesia. We are going to win the battle. I am convinced of that."

Plutonium update

Despite assurances from the Japanese government that the plutonium transport ship *Akatsuki Maru* would not enter any country's territorial waters, the ship in fact violated the 200 mile Exclusive Economic Zones of Kanaky/New Caledonia, the Solomons, and Vanuatu. With its deadly plutonium cargo (a tiny speck can cause cancer), the *Akatsuki Maru* spent up to 20 hours within the EEZs of these South Pacific nations. As one Pacific observer noted, "It's bad enough that such a ship would enter another country's waters, coming within 50 miles of the coastline; but to do so in the cyclone season for this region is the height of arrogance and stupidity".

The Solomon Islands government handed a note to the Japanese Embassy in Honiara, reminding Japan that it strongly opposes vessels carrying nuclear and radioactive substances through its exclusive economic zone. The Vanuatu government also lodged a strong protest against the shipment through its waters, saying the ship's route "demonstrates disrespect for South Pacific Island countries". Vanuatu's oppositon Vanuaaku Party joined the chorus of protest, saying "what is occurring is another example of disrespect for the unequivocably expressed concerns of Pacific states and peoples". In Kanaky, the pro-independence movement FLNKS issued a protest statement against the ship's passage through the territory's waters and demanded an explanation from the French government. (Pacnews 21-23 Dec ' 92 & 4/5 Jan '93)

The fact that the ship reached its Japanese destination safely is no cause for comfort, when it is reported that there will be 30 to 40 more of these ships in the years ahead. There have been some indications that the Japanese government may reconsider its plans for future shipments in light of the international outcry over possible accidents or terrorist attacks; this was accompanied by protests from its own citizens who are concerned about the stockpiling of plutonium.

The Citizens Nuclear Information Center Tokyo, at the forefront of the Japanese/international campaign, released new information on the 26th of November based on data disclosed by the Science & Technology Agency (STA) of Japan after lobbying pressure.

In essence, this "Environmental Impact Assessment" which was submitted to the French government as a basis for the shipment being 'safe', resulted in the issuance of the export license for the plutonium shipment. But the evaluation is only made for the risks to Japanese people at points 40 km and 500-100 km off-shore and only assesses their intake of marine food. It does not evaluate the effects on other people living along the whole long route from France to Japan (including Kanaky, the Solmons and Vanuatu!). It makes no attempt to evaluate the effects on the marine eco systems nor the damage to fisheries or the tourist trade or any other related industries. Says CNIC: "There is no way this can be called an "Environmental Assessment" and we cannot accept the issuance of the plutonium shipment export license based on such an extremely faulty IPSN report".